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## DANE HEW, MUNK OF LEICESTRE

The tales concerning the disposition of a corpse or corpses in an effort to conceal crime are numerous and varied. The discussions of these tales have been of very unequal value. Little remains to be said about those tales which deal with more than one corpse; they have been well studied by Pillet.<sup>1</sup> The state of affairs is quite different with the stories of the wanderings of a single body, for previous collections have been ill arranged and incomplete. Clouston's descriptive account,<sup>2</sup> which is occupied chiefly with summaries, errs occasionally in matters of relationship. De Cock<sup>3</sup> brought together the largest number (twenty-six) of examples, with the declared purpose of showing that the "Little Hunchback" of the *Arabian Nights* could not be their source. His scheme of classification obscures several clearly marked types. Steppuhn<sup>4</sup> did not even employ all the material accessible to him. He greatly overrates the significance of the fabliau "Le prestre comporté," and, because of insufficient evidence, draws erroneous conclusions about the affiliations of Masuccio's novella. Sumtsov's discussion of tales about fools touches incidentally upon these corpse-stories.<sup>5</sup> Sumtsov cites seventeen tales, which for the most part do not appear in the other articles. He holds that these tales originated in India and were spread in Western Europe by the fabliaux and novelle. He was unfortunate in selecting an Indian example<sup>6</sup> to serve as a starting-point. The tale of his choice relates how the stupid brother in executing the clever one's orders manages to do everything wrong. Instead of bathing his mother he kills her in a flood of hot water.

<sup>1</sup> *Das Fableau von den Trois Bossus Menestrels*, Halle, 1901; compare an important review by Gaston Paris, *Romania*, XXXI, 136-44.

<sup>2</sup> *Popular Tales and Fictions*, II, 332-57.

<sup>3</sup> "De Arabische Nachtvertellingen: De Geschiedenis van den kleinen Bultenaar," *Volkskunde* (Ghent), XIII, 216-30.

<sup>4</sup> *Das Fable vom Prestre Comporté: Ein Beitrag zur Fableforschung und zur Volkskunde*, Dissertation, Königsberg i. Pr., 1913.

<sup>5</sup> N. Ph. Sumtsov, "Razyskaniya v oblasti anekdoticheskoy literatury. Anekdoty o gluptsakh," in *Sbornik Harkovskago istoriko-philologicheskago Obschestva*, XI (Harkov, 1899), 165-67 (pp. 48 ff. of the reprint).

<sup>6</sup> Minaef, *Indiiskia Skazki i Legendy*, pp. 38-42.

When he is sent to bring a girl to his brother's house, he cuts her into pieces for convenience in carrying her. The mutilated body and the murderer are burned. This is not a tale of the wanderings of a corpse at all. It has no bearing on the question of the origin of the genuine corpse-stories which Sumtsov cites, and of course it does not prove their Indian origin. A discussion of corpse-stories did not properly lie in the field of Sumtsov's paper; consequently his collections are incomplete and his remarks rather unsatisfactory.

The material available is far more abundant than appears from any previous study; several hundred stories about the wanderings of *one* corpse are mentioned below. The objects of this paper are to distinguish the various types of tales based on the incident of the compromising corpse and to examine in more detail the group, interesting because of its singular literary popularity, which includes "Dane Hew, Munk of Leicestre."

In the tales to be discussed the lifelessness of the dead body lends itself to a grotesque or often revolting humor. The lack of respect, the disrespect even, for the rites and conventions of burial, and the coarsely comic situations into which the corpse falls, are exploited to the full and with a gusto which we today may envy, but would scarcely imitate. The subject is not one which allows of many kinds of treatment. The majority of these tales are told in a matter-of-fact tone—so matter-of-fact, indeed, that they could be, and in some cases were, accepted as actual historical tradition. The conscious literary artist either follows the lead of the folk-tales or turns it all into a mock-heroic burlesque.

## I

The many tales which have as their main theme the disposal of a corpse or corpses, fall into several clearly separable classes with a residue of scattering and unclassifiable forms. The more important of the clearly separable types may be designated for convenience as: *Les trois bossus menestrels*, *Tote Frau*, *The Blinded Husband and the Corpse*, *Prestre Comporté*, and *Dane Hew*. Only occasionally does a member of one of these groups seem to be contaminated by, or combined with, a tale of another type. Furthermore, the number of tales which fall strictly under each head is sufficient, especially in

view of their geographical distribution and the nature of their relationship, to justify the classification. A number of tales, however, resist successfully all attempts to "pigeon-hole" them. This is to be expected in the variants of a theme so widespread and so capable of modification. It is by no means necessary, nor is it desirable, to assume that all these scattering forms can be traced back to a common source. The fact that unclassifiable forms do exist, and in considerable numbers, is itself a proof that no violence has been done to the tales that have been classified.

Pillet has made an excellent study of *Les trois bossus menestrels*, which has been corrected in some points by Gaston Paris. Briefly the story is:

The wife of a humpback makes assignations at successive hours with three humpbacks. The first is hurried into a closet when the second appears, the second follows in his turn, and then the third when the husband comes home. There they stifle, and the wife must dispose of the bodies in order to conceal the affair. She calls in a porter and offers him a sum of money to carry off one body. On his return for his pay she declares that the corpse has come back. The porter is surprised but takes the second body away and ties a stone about its neck before throwing it into the river. He is induced to carry off the third on the same pretext, [and this he is burning when the humpbacked husband rides by. The porter thinks that the appearance of the latter explains the mystery of the returning corpse and throws both horse and rider into the fire].<sup>1</sup>

The great popularity of this tale is due in large measure to its inclusion in certain texts of the *Seven Sages*, where it is known as *Gibbosi*.<sup>2</sup> The addition of variants to those recorded by Pillet will probably not change the status of the investigation.<sup>3</sup> It will suffice for

<sup>1</sup> The episode in brackets is peculiar to the occidental variants.

<sup>2</sup> On the use of *Gibbosi* as a means of classification of the texts of the *Seven Sages*, see A. Hilka, *Historia septem sapientum*, I (= *Sammlung mittellateinischer Texte*, 4), p. xi. Hilka prints a new version of considerable importance.

<sup>3</sup> Hindu: *Folk-Lore*, VII, 94 (from \**North Indian Notes and Queries*, IV, 422). Malay: W. Skeat, *Fables and Folktales from an Eastern Forest*, pp. 36-37, "Father 'Follow-My-Nose' and the Four Priests." Syriac: Oestrup, *Contes de Damas*, pp. 115-21. Greek: *Folk-Lore*, VII, 94; *ibid.*, XI, 333, No. 8. Rumanian: Gröber's *Grundriss*, II, iii, pp. 385, 393. Italian: *Kpurrādia*, IV, 145, No. 5; Francesco Angeloni da Terni, *Novella XXIII* (unpublished; see summary by G. Marchesi, *Per la storia della novella italiana nel secolo XVII*, 111-12). French: *Revue des trad. pop.*, II, 461; XI, 451-53; XXI, 459-61; *Wallonia*, XIII, 199; \*Sébillot, *Les joyeuses histoires de Bretagne*, No. 77. Flemish: de Mont and de Cock, *Dit zijn Vlaamsche Vertelsels*, No. 407. The Hungarian additions are numerous: see Gálos, *Zt. f. vgl. Lit. gesch.*, XVIII (1902), 103-14; *Ethnographia*, XIX

the present purpose to emphasize the facts that the point of this tale lies in the disposal of *several* corpses, and that a trick must therefore be played on the porter who thinks he is carrying away but one. The heart and fiber of this tale is the plurality of the bodies. It is inconceivable that a story about the disposal of *one* corpse could have developed out of it. The assignments of a lady with several wooers and their subsequent discomfiture (but not death), as narrated in the fabliau *Constant du Hamel* or in Lydgate's *Prioress and Her Three Wooers*, are more suggestive as parallels to *Les trois bossus menestrels* than are stories about one corpse.<sup>1</sup> Indeed some French fabliaux seem to be a combination of *Les trois bossus menestrels* and *Constant du Hamel*. A curious joining of *Les trois bossus menestrels* with the episode of the bride won by the man who guesses the true nature of an enormous flea's hide<sup>2</sup> is found in an Italian tale, "È Re Gobbetto."<sup>3</sup>

(1908), 125; B. Heller, *ibid.*, XIX, 272; *Revue des trad. pop.*, XXI, 369 ff. For Scandinavia, see Bondeson, *Svenska Folksagor*, No. 89 (cf. *Nyare bidrag till kännedom om de svenska landsmälen*, II, cix, and Wigström, *ibid.*, V, No. 1 [1884], p. 102); Rittershaus, *Die neuisländischen Volksmärchen*, No. 111; \*S. Bugge and R. Berge, *Norske Eventyr og Sagn*, *Ny Samling*, 1913, No. 20, p. 78. Hackmann, *FF Communications*, VI, No. 1537\*, cites 5 versions from Swedes in Finland. It is known in Slavic territory: see F. S. Krauss, *Märchen und Sagen der Südslaven*, I, No. 98; Dalmatia: *Zt. des Vereins für Volkskunde*, XIX, 324, No. 11; and the abundance of references collected by Polívka, *Archiv f. slav. Philol.*, XIX, 256, No. 99; XXIX, 452, No. 340; XXXI, 274, No. 82; *Zt. f. österreichische Volkskunde*, VIII, 148, Nos. 25, 26; *Národopisný Sborník Československý*, Svazek VII (Prague, 1901), p. 213, No. 7. Numerous additional references of all sorts are to be found in J. Frey, *Gartengesellschaft* (ed. Bolte), p. 281 (addenda to his notes on V. Schumann, *Nachtbüchlein*, No. 19); Chauvin, *Bibliographie des ouvrages arabes*, VIII, 72; *ibid.*, IX, 88 (addenda by Basset, *Revue des trad. pop.*, XX, 331). Modern literary redactions are cited by Andrae, *Rom. Forsch.*, XVI, 349.

On the oriental origin of this tale see von der Leyen, Herrig's *Archiv*, CXVI, 294 ff. On Jörg Graff (Pillet, p. 94) see also Götze, *Zt. f. d. d. Unterricht*, XXVII, 99. I have not seen H. Varnhagen, *De glossis nonnullis anglicis*, Universitätschrift, Erlangen, 1902; nor E. de Cerny, *Saint Suliac et ses légendes*, "Les trois mortes." The tale in Waetzold, *Flore* (cf. Paul's *Grundriss*<sup>2</sup>, II, No. 1, p. 378), does not belong here.

I have not seen the works whose titles, in this and later notes, are preceded by a star.

<sup>1</sup> Pillet, pp. 51-75; Bolte and Polívka, *Anmerkungen*, II, 231, note; Prinz, *A Tale of a Prioress and Her Three Wooers* (= *Literarhistorische Forschungen*, XLVII).

On the relation of *Constant du Hamel* and *Les trois bossus menestrels* see further: Chauvin, *Bibliographie*, VIII, 51; Jonas, *Journal of Eng. and Germ. Philol.*, X, 111; Bédier, *Fabliaux*<sup>2</sup>, p. 246; Cosquin, *Romania*, XL, 486; *Zt. d. V. f. Vk.*, XIX, 213; Vetter, *Germanisch-romanische Monatsschrift*, V, 556 f.; B. Heller, *Ethnographia*, XIX, 371; Hilka, *Jahresbericht d. schles. Ges. f. vaterl. Kultur*, XC, No. 4, p. 18.

<sup>2</sup> On this see R. Köhler, *Kleinere Schriften*, I, 601: Flohfell erraten; Bolte, *Zt. d. V. f. Vk.*, XVI, 242, No. 23, and XVII, 229; Polívka, *Archiv f. slav. Philol.*, XXVI, 464; Desparmet, *Contes pop.*, p. 407.

<sup>3</sup> G. Zanazzo, *Tradizioni popolari romane*, I, *Novelle, favole e leggende romanesche*, pp. 41 ff. = *Archivio per lo studio delle trad. pop.*, XXII, 123 ff.

The main outlines of the story which, in accordance with Steppuhn, I shall call *Tote Frau*, are tolerably clear, and wholly distinct from those of any other form:

A poor brother (or sexton) steals a hog from his rich brother (or parson). The latter suspects the right man, but wishes to make certain. So he conceals his mother-in-law in a chest which he asks the poor brother to keep for a short time. The spy betrays her presence, however, and is killed by the pouring of boiling water into the chest, or by some similar method which leaves no mark of violence. To give a plausible reason for her death the poor brother puts a bit of cheese or dry bread in her mouth. The rich brother is astonished when he opens the chest, but he can prove nothing, and the corpse is buried with fitting respect. At night the scamp disinters the body, robs it of its jewels, and places it at the rich brother's door. The latter must part with some of his ill-gotten gains to provide a proper funeral, for he is led to believe that the dead woman's reappearance is due to lack of dignity in her previous burial. Successive repetitions or variations of the trick make the wealth of the two brothers approximately equal, and then the corpse is allowed to rest.

The occidental origin of this tale<sup>1</sup> is, I think, as clear as the oriental origin of *Les trois bossus menestrels*. The characteristic features of this type are: that the corpse is a woman's, that its

<sup>1</sup> The variants are abundant. Steppuhn (p. 49) cites only: J. F. Campbell, *Popular Tales of the West Highlands*, No. 15; E. Meier, *Deutsche Volksmärchen aus Schwaben*, No. 66; Cosquin, *Contes pop. de la Lorraine*, No. 80; Braga, *Contos tradicionaes do povo portuguez*, p. 210, No. 109, "Os dos irmãos e a mulher morta" (this is a contaminated version; see the remarks below on "Dane Hew"). It is well known on Celtic soil. Hebrides: *Folk-Lore*, IX, 89, No. 10. Irish: M. Sheehan, *Cnó Coilleadh Craobhaighe*, Dublin, 1907, pp. 49 ff., "An t-seanchailleach sa Chófra" ("The Old Woman in the Chest"); J. Lloyd, *Sgéalaidhe Óirghiall*, Dublin (Gaelic League), 1905, pp. 12-16 (with trifling variations from Sheehan); J. Lloyd, *Tonn Tóime*, Dublin (Gaelic League), 1915, pp. 24-28 (in both of Lloyd's collections it is entitled "An Dearbráthir Bocht agus an Dearbráthir Saidhbhir" ["The Poor Brother and the Rich Brother"]). In *Tonn Tóime* the servant who aids the poor brother is a Thankful Dead Man. For these references in Irish I am indebted to Professor F. N. Robinson; Britten, *Folk-Lore Journal*, I, 185-86; T. C. Croker, *Killarney Legends*, pp. 81-86. It is known in Flemish and North German countries; see Pelz, *Blätter f. pommersche Volkskunde*, I, 43; Jahn, *Schwänke und Schnurren aus Pommern*, p. 111; Wissner, *Plattdeutsche Volksmärchen*, No. 29 (he has 30 unprinted variants, see p. xxiii). For the concluding incident see Addy, *Household Tales*, No. 17; Strackerjan, *Aberglaube und Sagen aus dem Herzogtum Oldenburg*<sup>2</sup>, II, 501-6 (the editor, Willloh, has altered this tale [cf. *Hessische Blätter f. Volkskunde*, VIII, 204], and the first edition [I, 354] should be used); *Ons Volksleven*, XII, 109 (defective); de Cock, *Volkskunde*, XIII, 229, No. 22. For Scandinavia, see E. T. Kristensen, *Fra Mindebo*, No. 3, pp. 24-32; Rittershaus, *Die neusländischen Volksmärchen*, No. 114. *FF Communications*, V, No. 1536, cites 117 Finnish variants, of which five are from Finns out of Finland. A great variety of Slavic and other references are to be found in R. Köhler, *Kleinere Schriften*, I, 190; Polivka, *Archiv f. slav. Philol.*, XVII, 581, Nos. 216, 217; XIX, 267, No. 29; *Zt. f. ōst. Vlk.*, VIII, 147, No. 21; 148, No. 24; 152, No. 79; *Národopisný Sborník Československý* (Prague, 1901), p. 213, No. 6.

For the robbery of jewels from a corpse see Burne, *Shropshire Folklore*, p. 105; "Lageniensis," *Irish Folklore*, Glasgow, 1870, p. 24. For the fear of the return of a

returnings embarrass the same person (the rich brother or the parson), and that the poor brother (or sexton) profits from its reappearances. The absence of any signs of murder on the body, and the bit of food which the murderer puts into the old woman's mouth to make it seem that she has choked, are common to all the tales. In Ireland and Scotland it is usually related of two brothers, elsewhere of a country preacher and his sexton. On the whole, the Continental tales are less imaginative than the Celtic. The disposal of the corpse in the Continental tales is a matter of rather vulgar bargaining by which the sexton enriches himself; and there is none of that strange horror of the corpse supposedly returning for a more gorgeous burial. It is noteworthy that no other story of a compromising corpse has been found in Ireland.

The *Blinded Husband and the Corpse* is composed of two wholly distinct stories, as is evident from an outline of the occidental variants:<sup>1</sup>

An adulterous wife, fearing that knowledge of her conduct may come to the ears of her husband, prays that he may be blinded. The husband hears her prayer and deceives her into thinking that it has been granted. He seizes the opportunity, which her confidence in his dissembling gives, to kill the priest.<sup>2</sup> The story of the corpse is very summarily told. Usually the corpse is leaned against an altar; sometimes a horse, bearing the body, runs wild in a pot-market.

corpse see W. Gregor, *Folklore of the Northeast of Scotland*, p. 214 (something similar to this tale is hinted at); *Alemannia*, VIII, 129 ff. For parallels to the incident of the old woman bound to a foal which pursues its mother, see M. Böhm, *Lettische Schwänke*, No. 24 and notes, p. 114.

The Continental tales are often introduced with the episode of the man who did not wish to share with his neighbors the hog that he had slaughtered. He follows a cheat's advice and exposes the hog which, by prearrangement, the cheat steals. The cheat asserts that someone else stole it, and the selfish man dares not accuse him. For this as an independent story see A. C. Lee, *The Decameron: Its Sources and Analogues*, pp. 257-58.

<sup>1</sup> Schneller, *Märchen und Sagen aus Wälschtirol*, 1867, No. 58; J. G. T. Grässe, *Sagenbuch des preussischen Staates*, II, 1009-10, No. 1242; M. Böhm, *Lettische Schwänke*, p. 65, No. 40 (and notes, p. 119; cf. addenda by Polívka, *Archiv f. slav. Philol.*, XXXIII, 605). The Russian examples are abundant: see *Кривдѣя*, I, 240-43; Jaworskij, *Zt. d. V. f. Vsk.*, VIII, 218 (too brief to be compared); Polívka, *Archiv f. slav. Philol.*, XIX, 256, No. 102; XXXI, 269, No. 50; Radloff, *Proben der Volksliteratur der türkischen Stämme*, X, 150-52, Nos. 84, 84a. Sumtsov (see note 5 on p. 221) cites: \*Sadovnikov, p. 162. Polish: \*Kolberg, Pokuice, IV, No. 67. For Finland see Aarne, *FF Communications*, III, No. 1380; *ibid.*, V, No. 1380 (72 variants); Hackmann, *ibid.*, VI, No. 1380 (4 variants from Swedes in Finland). Greek: R. M. Dawkins, *Modern Greek in Asia Minor* (Cambridge, 1916), pp. 475-79, "The Son who feigned blindness"; and compare Halliday's notes, *ibid.*, pp. 236-37.

<sup>2</sup> He pours hot fat down the priest's throat; for this see also Erk-Böhme, *Deutscher Liederhort*, I, 172, No. 50A, "Die Mordeltern."

The incident of the husband who feigns blindness in order to outwit his wife and her paramour has a family tree of its own extending as far back as the *Pantschatantra*.<sup>1</sup> The dissembled blindness in conjunction with a corpse-story is found both in Europe and in India. It is probable that we are not dealing with a combination which was made in the Orient and then transmitted westward. Hans Sachs, who knows the story, very probably joined the parts himself.<sup>2</sup> On the other hand, we can show that a union of the parts was also made in India. In a Ceylonese tale,<sup>3</sup> after the husband has feigned blindness and killed the lover, the body is put first in a neighbor's field, and then before a salt-dealer's house; the latter strikes the body, discovers that it is a corpse, and, knowing himself to be innocent, makes the murder known to the government. The guilty wife, who has been hired as a mourner, betrays herself and is executed; the murderer goes scot-free. In connection with this tale the corpse-stories collected from three North Indian tribes, the Santal, the Oraon-Kol, and the Kohlān, offer some points of interest. A corpse in a Santal tale<sup>4</sup> has a set of adventures similar to those in the Ceylonese story; in both the blinding episode is lacking. The second tribe, which has other tales in common with the Santal, tells essentially the same corpse-story<sup>5</sup> with a curious addition:

A potter, who has been the contriver of the corpse's adventures, counterfeits its voice at the funeral pyre in which it is being burned, and bids the

<sup>1</sup> Montanus, *Schwankbücher* (ed. Bolte), p. 611 (*Gartengesellschaft*, chap. lxxii); *Zt. d. V. f. Vk.*, XXI, 197; Swynnerton, *Folk-Lore Journal*, I, 147; H. Parker, *Village Folk-Tales of Ceylon*, III, 215; Stiefel, *Litteraturblatt f. germ. und rom. Philol.*, XXXVII, col. 26; E. Cotarelo y Mori, *Colección de Entremeses* (= *Nueva Biblioteca de Autores Españoles*, XVII), I, p. cxxiii; \*Grisanti, *Usi, credenze . . . di Isnello*, II, 202; \*Lademann, *Tierfabeln und andere Erzählungen in Suaheli*, No. 35; *Anthropophyteia*, I, 448, No. 338; *ibid.*, 449, No. 339; Bünker, *Schwänke, Sagen, und Märchen in heanzischer Mundart*, No. 19; \*F. Lorentz, *Slowinzische Texte*, p. 142, No. 130; cf. Polívka, *Zt. f. öst. Vk.*, VII, 195. Bolte (*Zt. d. V. f. Vk.*, XXIV, 430) cites a discussion of this tale by S. Debenedetti. See also the *Skogar Kristrímur*, of Rognvaldr blindi (Paul's *Grundriss*\*, II, 1, p. 729).

<sup>2</sup> Stiefel, *Zt. d. V. f. Vk.*, X, 74 ff. The meistersong is "Der baur, messner, mit dem (toten) pfaffen" in Sachs, *Sämtliche Fabeln und Schwänke* (ed. Goetze, Neudrucke, Nos. 207-11), V, No. 742.

<sup>3</sup> H. Parker, *Village Folk-Tales of Ceylon*, III, 212-15, No. 228.

<sup>4</sup> Bompas, *Folklore of the Santal Parganas*, pp. 247-48, "The Corpse of the Raja's Son."

<sup>5</sup> F. Hahn, *Blicke in die Geisteswelt der heidnischen Kols*, Gütersloh, 1906, pp. 16-19, No. 9. In this collection Nos. 15 and 20 are from the Santal. See also the remark on No. 34.



people give half the kingdom and the hand of the ruler's (corpse's) daughter to the potter.<sup>1</sup>

Now the Kohlān tale contains in the corpse-story this new motif, and prefixes the dissembled blinding to it all.<sup>2</sup> The fact that the corpse-story in all these—the Ceylonese tale included—is practically one and the same indicates that here is a specifically Indian type, and that it is being combined with other motifs before our eyes. These eastern tales exhibit no striking or significant resemblances to the European forms.

The eastern tales are not the source of the other versions. The joining of the episode of the dissembled blindness to a corpse-story probably took place at least three different times. The only one of these which we can date is the juncture made by Hans Sachs. The combination in India is probably very recent, for it is apparently restricted to a few intimately related tribes. The combination as it appears in European folk-tales has had sufficient time to become widely disseminated, and, if we may assume a single starting-point, to develop considerable individual differences. The situation is obscured by the facts that it is difficult to identify the source of the corpse-story<sup>3</sup> in the European *Blinded Husband and the Corpse*, and that there has been some interchange of motifs between this and other types.

Steppuhn errs in not developing Pillet's suggestion (p. 96) that the fabliaux "Le prestre comporté" and "Du segretain ou du moine" are representatives of different groups. The *Prestre Comporté* type is a very old one, and it will not be possible to unravel its history here. It may be outlined as follows:

A woman has been carrying on a liaison with a priest. The husband, who has been informed of the affair by a servant,<sup>4</sup> makes certain of the

<sup>1</sup> This is comparable to the story of Gianni Schicchi (*Inferno*, XXX): cf. Altrocchi, *Pub. Mod. Lang. Assoc.*, XXIX, 200-225; see also Vossler, *Studien zur vgl. Lit. gesch.*, II, 19. Professor Altrocchi found no examples in folk-tales; in addition to these, see W. F. O'Connor, *Folk Tales from Thibet*, p. 128, and compare *Mitteilungen d. Ver. f. Gesch. d. Deutschen in Böhmen*, XV, 166, No. 6.

<sup>2</sup> Bompas, *op. cit.*, pp. 480-83, No. 22. The Kohlān are related to the Santal.

<sup>3</sup> It is so brief that comparison with other forms is difficult. It has certain similarities to some tales of the *Prestre Comporté* type, but the most characteristic incidents of one type do not appear in the other.

<sup>4</sup> For parallels to this figure see Bolte, *Zt. f. vgl. Lit. gesch.*, New Series, VII, 464; Polivka, *Archiv f. slav. Philol.*, XXII, 310, No. 700; *Zt. f. öst. Vk.*, VIII, 147, No. 11; 149, No. 36.

lover's visit one night by announcing his intended absence. He returns unexpectedly and kills the priest (usually by pouring some hot liquid down his throat). He feels no responsibility for the concealment of the murder, for its disclosure will cause him little inconvenience. [He torments his wife by forcing her to move the body from one place to another in order, as she hopes, to hide it from him.]<sup>1</sup> The corpse is then laid against a door, [is mounted on a horse], and is exchanged for a hog in a sack. Apparently the blame finally rests on an ecclesiastic whose position protects him from the accusation of murder.

The variants<sup>2</sup> differ widely among themselves, and a satisfactory archetype cannot be easily constructed. One thing, however, is quite clear: the fabliau "*Le prestre comporté*" is not, as Steppuhn would have it, a good substitute for its folk-tale source (or the archetype); it is too elaborate and sophisticated. Characteristic of this type are: the guilty wife, the servant who either informs the husband of the liaison or disposes of the body or does both, and murder by pouring a hot liquid down the man's throat. The mounting of the corpse on horseback, although it is not found in all the examples, has certain distinctive characteristics: it is not the conclusion of the tale, the corpse is not armed, and the horse and rider are attacked for trespass (usually on a grainfield).

*Prestre Comporté* is first and foremost a type circulating among the folk; its immediate literary derivatives are negligible. By a selection and rearrangement of incidents a new form developed out of this rather chaotic type. This new form I call the *Dane Hew* type and shall discuss in detail below.

A number of tales remind us of one or another of the foregoing types without presenting a conclusive similarity. These corrupt

<sup>1</sup> Details in brackets are not common to all variants.

<sup>2</sup> "*Le prestre comporté*," Montaignon-Raynaud, *Recueil général des fabliaux*, IV, No. 80 (trans. A. von Keller, *Altfranzösische Sagen*, II, 167 ff.; retold with minor changes by L. H. Nicolay, *Vermischte Gedichte und prosaische Schriften*, Berlin, 1792, I, 156-67, "*Der Kapuziner*"). Its nearest associates are: Asbjørnsen and Moe, *Norske Folkeeventyr*, *Ny Samling*, Christiania, 1871, pp. 141-51, No. 88, "*Klokkeren i Bygden vor*" (trans. Dasent, *Tales from the Fjeld*, pp. 184 ff., "*Our Parish Clerk*") and de Cock, *Volkskunde*, XIII, 220-21, No. 4, "*Pater Koekebak*." Pitre, *Fiabe, novelle . . . pop. sic.*, Palermo, 1874, No. 165, "*Fra Ghiniparu*" (ill-told and contaminated with Masuccio, *Novella 1*) and Finamore, *Trad. pop. abruz.*, I, *Novelle*, Lanciano, 1882, pp. 40-42, No. 9 (very clever), form another group. Haas, *Blätter f. pomm. Vk.*, IX, 24-26, contains incidents from the *Blinded Husband and the Corpse* (compare the tale collected by Grässe cited in note 1 on p. 226). See further: E. T. Kristensen, *Fra Mindebo*, pp. 145-51, No. 28; B. Heller, *Rev. des trad. pop.*, XXI, 373-74 (two tales); Sébillot, *Archivio per lo studio delle trad. pop.*, XIII, 280-81 (defective).

versions tell us nothing new about the types; they are of interest only because they show how easily these tales were modified. The whole might be given a new emphasis, the motivation of the murder might be changed, and the narrator might forget incidents which even he felt to be essential.

Some of these tales may contain remnants of the corpse-story in the *Blinded Husband and the Corpse*. The narrator in these corrupt forms strains his ingenuity to devise new ways of "killing" the corpse. When his invention fails he concludes with one or another incident which is especially familiar in this type. In the Icelandic "Märchen vom Barbieri,"<sup>1</sup> the barber extorts hush money from a miller, a tailor, and a shoemaker at whose doors he has laid the corpse. Since it offers him no further opportunities for profit he lays it on the church steps, and it is buried in the odor of sanctity. A Dutch tale<sup>2</sup> has, like the Icelandic, three "slayings" of the corpse, which is then mounted on a horse and runs wild in the pot-market; "perhaps it's running yet," says the narrator. The characteristic incidents in these two are respectively the body on the church steps and in the pot-market, and these seem to be the property of the *Blinded Husband and the Corpse*. A meistersong, "Vom pfarrer der zu fünf maln starb,"<sup>3</sup> which has been ascribed to Hans Rosenplüt, may possibly belong under this head.

"D'un vieux cheval et d'une vieille femme"<sup>4</sup> may contain reminiscences of the *Prestre Comporté* type, although there are considerable differences. So, too, a curious Magyar tale<sup>5</sup> has certain resemblances in spite of its unique and grewsome introduction: a woman has a passion for tearing out people's hair; her husband on his deathbed

<sup>1</sup> Rittershaus, *Die neuisländischen Volksmärchen*, pp. 396 ff., No. 112. Compare with it: "Ta Hans'l unt ta' Pfaara" in Bünker, *Schwänke, Sagen und Märchen in heanzischer Mundart*, pp. 7-9, No. 3.

<sup>2</sup> "De Groentiedief," de Cock, *Volkskunde*, XIII, 222, No. 7. Compare with it: "Le Père Bernard" (*Rev. des trad. pop.*, XI, 302-3), from Haute Bretagne.

<sup>3</sup> A. von Keller, *Erzählungen aus alldutschen Handschriften* (Stuttgart Lit. Ver., XXXV), pp. 111-19. Stiefel (*Zt. d. V. f. Vk.*, X, 77) relates it loosely to *Prestre Comporté*. On the ascription to Rosenplüt see V. Michels, *Studien über die ältesten Fastnachtspiele* (= *Quellen und Forschungen*, LXXVII), p. 148, and J. Demme, *Studien über Hans Rosenplüt*, Münster, 1906, p. 15.

<sup>4</sup> Sébillot, *Contes pop. de la Haute Bretagne* (1880), I, 236-42, No. 36; see also Step-puhn, pp. 66, 68.

<sup>5</sup> G. von Gaal, *Märchen der Magyaren*, pp. 276-89.

assures her that she will die a fivefold death if she does not let him carry his hair to the grave; she violates his wish and pays the penalty.

What seems to be a fifth type of corpse-story is found in tales from Finland, Transylvania, and Rumania. The Transylvanian "Der siebenmal Getödtete"<sup>1</sup> is the most easily accessible version of this type. It is remarkable on account of the abundance of incidents. A characteristic one, unknown in western Europe, is the floating of the corpse in a boat until it disturbs a duck hunter and is "shot."<sup>2</sup>

A few interesting tales from a great variety of places do not accord with any of the foregoing types. No two of them are alike. They exhibit only insignificant, incidental resemblances to forms we have met. The fabliau "Dou sagretaig"<sup>3</sup> is the oldest of these wholly anomalous tales:

A ram butts a priest and kills him. His corpse is placed at the door of a neighbor whose wife the priest had once loved; it is thrown into the river. Two fishers draw out the sack containing it, and one of them carries the sack home. The other refuses to believe that the sack contained nothing but a corpse, and publicly accuses his comrade of murder. While the first fisher is undergoing the ordeal of the bier, the ram is accidentally led past, the corpse bleeds, and the murder is out.

The similarities between this and other forms are negligible.<sup>4</sup> The discovery of the real murderer, the ram, by the ordeal of the bier seems to be the point of this tale; this is a curious turn which is paralleled nowhere else. The introductory love affair—lost because the manuscript is torn—is of a sort unfamiliar in these tales because there is nothing illicit about it. In a tale<sup>5</sup> of the Mande, a Central African tribe, we have a helpful servant who carries about the body

<sup>1</sup> Haltrich, *Deutsche Volksmärchen aus dem Sachsenlande in Siebenbürgen*, 1856. No. 61. Rumanian: \*Obert, *Ausland*, 1856, 716 (summarized by Steppuhn, pp. 69 ff.). Finnish: Aarne, *FF Communications*, III, No. 1537. *Ibid.*, V, No. 1537, cites 42 Finnish versions; *ibid.*, VI, No. 1537, gives 8 from Swedes in Finland.

<sup>2</sup> See also the tales in Radloff (note 1 on p. 226).

<sup>3</sup> Montaiglon-Raynaud, *Recueil général*, VI, 243 ff.

<sup>4</sup> The two incidents of this tale which may be compared with other forms are the leaning of the corpse against a door and the throwing of it into water. Both incidents are so frequent as to be of no significance in questions of origin or affiliation. For the first see R[ouse], *Folk-Lore*, VII, 94; Paton, *ibid.*, XI, 334, and note 1 on p. 234 below; the second occurs often in the *Prestre Comporté* and *Dane Hew* types. See also H. Parker, *Village Folk-Tales of Ceylon*, III, 139–40, and for historical instances, Lütolf, *Germania*, XVII, 215.

<sup>5</sup> L. Frobenius, *Der schwarze Dekameron*, 342–50, No. 4, "Der Listige" (cf. p. 388). The Mande have long been in contact with Mohammedans to the north.

of his mistress' paramour. The journey of the corpse (carried to a robber's house, laid against a tree in which men were collecting honey, set before the king's harem) does not exhibit any significant similarities to anything else. It concludes with a well-known incident which has no connection with the corpse-story cycle: when the guilty man receives a mark which should distinguish him on the morrow, he marks all about him in the same way, and thus prevents detection.<sup>1</sup> "Die mehrere Male getötete Leiche"<sup>2</sup> is a dull tale of a woman who killed her mother-in-law for making trouble; the blame was shifted to the husband, to his brother, and then to an outsider. The most sordid of all these tales is one from Malta.<sup>3</sup> It relates how money was extorted from various merchants by the trick of leaving a child's body in their shops and then accusing them of murder. Apparently the same idea inspires a tale from the Swedish population of Finland.<sup>4</sup>

Of all the anomalous tales the "Little Hunchback" in the *Arabian Nights* is the most important, for it has often been used to bridge the gap in the transmission of these stories from their supposed place of origin in India to Europe. It has already been recognized that it fulfils this office very unsatisfactorily; de Cock's article was written to prove that it is not such an intermediary, and Step-puhn (pp. 60 f.) reaches the same conclusion independently. It seems to be unrelated to any other tale. Chauvin<sup>5</sup> states that the story is probably older than the Cairene recension of the *Nights* into which it was interpolated; but we have no descendants from this hypothetical floating form. The purpose of the insertion is apparent; it gives a frame for the stories of the murderers who came forward to accuse themselves. Except for its use in *Sumurun*, the dramatization of the "Little Hunchback," there is no evidence of its popularity apart from the *Nights*.<sup>6</sup>

<sup>1</sup> For parallels see Clouston, *Popular Tales and Fictions*, II, 113-65; Schoepperle, *Tristan and Isolt*, I, 214, note 2; von der Leyen, *Herrig's Archiv*, CXV, 11, note 2.

<sup>2</sup> Rittershaus, *Die neuisländischen Volksmärchen*, pp. 399 ff., No. 113.

<sup>3</sup> H. Stumme, *Maltesische Märchen*, pp. 61-64, No. 22, "Margherita" (original text in his *Maltesische Studien*, pp. 44-45, which is apparently much shorter than the translation).

<sup>4</sup> *FF Communications*, VI, No. 1537\*\*.

<sup>5</sup> In a letter quoted by de Cock, *Volkskunde*, XIII, 230.

<sup>6</sup> See Chauvin, *Bibliographie*, V, 181. For a variant resembling *Sumurun*, see *Magasin pittoresque*, V, 201-2. It is not mentioned in Conant, *The Oriental Tale in England*, or in de Meester, *Oriental Influences in the English Literature of the Early 19th Century*.

Two folk-stories about corpses have been inaccessible to me.<sup>1</sup>

In written literature as contrasted with folk-literature, the theme of the compromising corpse has not been widely used. It is too somber, and the lifeless body, except in the way that it affects the living, offers few possibilities to the literary artist. Noteworthy examples are: Palacio Valdés, "El Crimen de la Calle de la Perseguida";<sup>2</sup> the crassly realistic "Der tote Jude," of Hans Heinz Ewers;<sup>3</sup> and Robert Louis Stevenson's "The Wrong Box," which Mr. Granville Barker has recently dramatized as "The Morris Dance." In a clever story by James Morier<sup>4</sup> a dead man's head is bandied about. The interest in all these is rather in the emotions of the living than in the disposition of the body. There are a few literary instances in which the corpse is the "hero" of the tale, but these rest ultimately on some one of the folk-tales discussed below. In an incidental way the compromising corpse appears now and again on the stage, e.g., in Marlowe's *Jew of Malta*, IV, iii, and, with still more horrors, in Tourneur's *Revenger's Tragedy*, V, i.<sup>5</sup>

Certain facts about the relations of the various groups of tales may now be pointed out. No matter how far back we may go with the forms that have been described, *Les trois bossus menestrels* cannot be the source of any one. Nor is there cogent reason for thinking that the "Little Hunchback" is an intermediary between the East and the West. For speculation on the possible oriental origin of these tales, the Santal "Corpse of the Raja's Son" and the Kohlän and other Indian tales of the *Blinded Husband* type offer a foundation firmer than any hitherto proposed.

Obvious interrelations between the groups are few, but cross-influences of all sorts must not be excluded. The corpse-story in the

<sup>1</sup> E. T. Kristensen, *Bindestuens Saga*, p. 116; Schullerus, "Rumänische Volksmärchen," No. 59, in *Archiv des Vereins für siebenbürgische Landeskunde*, New Series, XXXIII.

<sup>2</sup> *Agua Fuerte* = *Obras Completas*, Vol. X, Madrid, 1907.

<sup>3</sup> *Das Grauen*, pp. 208-40, München, 1912.

<sup>4</sup> *Adventures of Hajji Baba of Ispahan*, chap. xiv.

<sup>5</sup> On Marlowe and *Titus Andronicus*, II, iii, see A. Schröer, *Ueber Titus Andronicus*, p. 118 (review by Brandl, *Gött. gel. Anz.*, 1891, p. 714); on Tourneur, see E. Koepfel, *Quellenstudien zu den Dramen B. Jonsons*, Münchner Beiträge, XI, 140.

For the painting of the corpse, as in an earlier scene of the *Revenger's Tragedy*, see also *The Second Maiden's Tragedy*, V, ii (*Dodsley's Old English Plays*, X) and with a different purpose, Reade, *Cloister and the Hearth*, chap. xxxiii.

*Blinded Husband and the Corpse* has, in spite of its paucity of incident, something in common with *Prestre Comporté*. Some tale of the *Prestre Comporté* type, as will presently appear, supplied the material from which some clever narrator adapted incidents for *Dane Hew*. The complex "Siebenmal Getödtete" and the tales like it exhibit no significant similarities to any other group. The cleft between *Tote Frau* and other cycles cannot be bridged.

Before taking up the *Dane Hew* group we may note in passing certain tales in which the disposition of a compromising corpse appears merely as an incidental episode. In some of these the murderer simply props the body up—often at the scene of the murder—and makes his escape.<sup>1</sup> This device is best known in the widespread *Unibosmärchen*,<sup>2</sup> in which it is occasionally replaced by the episode of the pretended resuscitation of the hero's wife, who has been slain—so the onlookers think—by a blow. In one variant of *Unibos*<sup>3</sup> the narrator has not unskilfully expanded the motif of the corpse by inserting details from the longer corpse-stories. It is told of two monks of Bégard, and follows the *Unibos* type fairly well except for this incident:

While the clever monk is carrying the corpse to town he sees a pear tree in the moonlight. At its foot he lays the corpse. The proprietor of the orchard shoots the body "dead," and pays for the monk's silence. Then the corpse mounted on horseback rides wild in a pot-market. From a merchant who thinks he has killed the corpse more money is extorted. Naturally, the stupid monk fails in his attempt to make money from a corpse.

<sup>1</sup> Examples are collected by Miss M. R. Cox, *Cinderella*, p. 501, note 42. See further: Rand, *Legends of the Micmacs*, No. 57; Grundtvig, *Danmarks Folkeviser i Udvalg*, p. 101 (Prior, *Ancient Danish Ballads*, I, 69); Folk-Lore, XXII, 466; "De Schäwekeerl," *Niedersachsen*, May 1, 1901 (summarized by Andrae, *Rom. Forsch.*, XVI, 348); R. C. Temple, *Indian Antiquary*, IX, 206; *Zt. d. V. f. V.*, XVII, 339; *Squyr of Low Degre* (ed. Mead), p. 30, cf. pp. xxxii, 76.

I am not inclined to believe that this motif has any relation to the Hjaðningavíg, the myth of the recurrent battle, in spite of Liebrecht's comparisons (*Otia Imperialia*, p. 195).

<sup>2</sup> See J. Frey, *Gartengesellschaft* (ed. Bolte), p. 278, note 6d; Bolte and Polívka, *Anmerkungen zu den Kinder- und Hausmärchen*, II, 1-18 (No. 61, "Das Bürle"; the motif is G<sup>2</sup>, cf. pp. 10 ff.); Jellinek, *Literarisches Centralblatt*, 1901, col. 899; Wiener, *Yiddish Literature*, pp. 45-49. It appears independently in Leskien and Brugmann, *Litauische Volkslieder und Märchen*, No. 38, p. 483 (cf. notes, p. 574).

<sup>3</sup> Luzel, *Contes pop. de la Basse Bretagne*, III, 426-38 = Blümml, *Schnurren und Schwänke des französischen Bauernvolkes*, No. 52.

In other tales the corpse is bound on a horse, which is then released to wander where it will.<sup>1</sup> This device also appears in the *Unibosmärchen*. In a Santal tale, "The Greatest Cheat of Seven,"<sup>2</sup> which is more or less of the *Unibos* type, we have this incident:

The corpse in a sack is laid on a bullock's back. When the animal trespasses on a wheatfield both beast and sack are beaten, and the cheat receives hush money from the man who thinks himself guilty of killing the woman.

## II

The *Dane Hew* type is, with a few modifications in detail, a new arrangement in a fixed order of the incidents we have already met in *Prestre Comporté*. The importance of literary transmission in its history explains the clarity of the outlines of the story and the ease with which the relations of the variants can be perceived. The outline of the *Dane Hew* type is as follows:

A husband agrees to his wife's assignation with a libidinous monk (priest); they have conspired to blackmail him or to punish him for his presumption. He is killed by a *blow* on the head. The body is concealed in an outhouse (*pertruïs*) of the monastery, is returned to the murderer's door, is exchanged for a hog in a sack,<sup>3</sup> and then, more or less completely armed, is mounted on a horse. In one subdivision of this group the horse runs wild, and either dashes its rider's brains out against the lintel of a door or falls with its rider into a river. In the other the horse pursues a mare bearing a man who flees from the accusation of having committed the murder until horse and corpse are engulfed in a ditch.

This sequence of incident, which is one of the most useful means of identifying the type, is followed in all the examples. Other essential characteristics are the new motivation of the murder, and the fact that the mounted corpse is armed.<sup>4</sup> The

<sup>1</sup> See *Zt. f. vgl. Lit. gesch.*, XIII (1900), 176-78; Clouston, *Popular Tales and Fictions*, II, 247; Bédier, *Fabliaux*<sup>2</sup>, p. 469 (\*E. Hamonic, *Moine Amoureux*; the corpse is armed); Child, *English and Scottish Popular Ballads*, No. 68, "Young Hunting," version G, str. 2 (the corpse is armed); R. Basset, *Contes pop. berbères*, p. 223 (the corpse is later resuscitated by magic water).

<sup>2</sup> A. Campbell, *Santal Folk Tales*, pp. 98 ff.

<sup>3</sup> The incident may have been suggested by the many tales about stolen hogs, e.g., Latham, *Folk-Lore Record*, I, 27; *A C Mery Tales, Shakespeare's Jest Books* (ed. Hazlitt), I, 31-36, No. 16. See also Clouston, *Popular Tales and Fictions*, II, 130, 385; Birlinger, *Alemannia*, XIV, 252; Bolte, *ibid.*, XV, 63; J. E. Simpkins, *County Folklore*, VII (Fife), pp. 220 f.

<sup>4</sup> An armed corpse on horseback appears occasionally elsewhere (see note 1 above), as an incidental motif, but not, as far as I know, in a corpse-story.



incident of the corpse's ride must not be confused with the analogous adventure of an unarmed body in *Prestre Comporté*. As the outline indicates, the type shows two subdivisions, one in which the horse runs wild,<sup>1</sup> and one in which it pursues a mare.<sup>2</sup> Of these the first is older both in the history of the tale and with regard to the variants preserved; the latter has enjoyed a singular literary popularity.

Unfortunately the lack of material prevents us from reproducing completely the process of selection which created the *Dane Hew* type. Certainly neither the fabliau "Le prestre comporté" nor any one of its nearest associates was the starting-point; for that purpose a defective Swedish tale,<sup>3</sup> in the absence of anything in French, must serve. The Swedish version stands about half-way between *Prestre Comporté* and the earlier form of *Dane Hew*, i.e., the one in which the horse runs wild. Here we have the characteristic incidents of *Prestre Comporté*—the guilty wife and the unarmed corpse on horseback—but the order typical of *Dane Hew*. It will be abundantly apparent that the development of this new type took place in France, although the best example of an intermediate form is Swedish.<sup>4</sup>

To the earlier form of the tale belong the three French fabliaux: "Du segretain ou du moine" (SoM); "Du segretain moine" (SM); "Le dit dou soucretain" (DS). Steppuhn's thesis discusses these thoroughly and, in the main, correctly. He has recognized that the three are closely related; that SM and DS are derivatives from a common source; that SoM is an improvement, chiefly in matters of motivation, on the other two. However, it is not necessarily true that SoM is therefore the source, or a faithful derivative of the source, which was corrupted in the tale which lies behind SM and DS. Steppuhn's argumentation (pp. 34–38) rests solely on the motivation of SoM, which is shown to be the work of a clever craftsman. Only

<sup>1</sup> Montaiglon-Raynaud, *Recueil général*, V, No. 123, "Du segretain ou du moine"; *ibid.*, No. 136, "Du segretain moine"; *ibid.*, VI, No. 150, "Le dit dou soucretain." An oral form of this tale was current in Great Britain a century ago: see Brueyre, *Revue des trad. pop.*, V, 198.

<sup>2</sup> Hazlitt, *Remains of the Early Popular Poetry of England*, 1866, III, 135–46 (supercedes C. H. Hartshorne, *Ancient Metrical Romances*, pp. 316–29); Settembrini, *Il Novellino di Masuccio Salernitano*, Novella I, pp. 7–23; Braga, *Contos tradicionais do povo português*, No. 109, p. 210 (combined with *Tote Frau*, see note 1 on p. 225). Only the independent versions are cited here.

<sup>3</sup> Bondeson, *Svenska Folksagor*, pp. 301–4, No. 86, "Prästen, som de ödde tre gånger" ("The priest who was slain three times").

<sup>4</sup> Steppuhn's opinions (pp. 41, 64) are neither clear nor consistent.

in one point, the discovery of the body, is a comparison with the other tales possible: in SoM the body is discovered at the *fumier* before the sack is carried to the inn; in all other variants (except Masuccio's novella, which omits the incident) it is discovered at the inn. Here it is clear that SoM is less original, since all the remaining variants agree against it. This fact and the presumption that the better story-teller would be more likely than a poorer one to change the story justify the opinion that SoM as a whole represents the source of the three fabliaux less faithfully than do SM and DS.

The tale as told in the fabliaux is preserved in various literary and popular forms. The thirty-fifth novella of Francesco Angeloni da Terni, which still lies in manuscript in the Marciana at Venice, is closely related to SM-DS. It is accessible only in the following summary by Marchesi:

Nicoletto, pescatore, sorpreso il medico Gilberto con sua moglie, lo uccide. La moglie pone il morto entro una cassa; venuta la notte, Nicoletto lo porta presso la bottega di un macellaio; questi, trovatolo, lo appoggia alla porta di uno speziale, emette grida lamentose, suona il campanello e fugge; lo speziale esce e, trovato il morto, lo pone a sedere sulla latrina di una casa lontana; qui alcuni giovani lanciano al morto qualche sassata, poi, credendo averlo ucciso loro, lo legano a cavallo di un asino e lo lasciano liberamente vagare per la campagna; finchè l'asino, inseguito, cade ed annega in un fiume, e si crede poi che anche il medico sia morto annegato.<sup>1</sup>

This is not entirely clear, for it is not evident who pursues the ass and its burden. The novella resembles the fabliaux SM-DS in the fall of the ass and corpse into the river; this and the placing of the corpse *sulla latrina di una casa lontana* are conclusive evidence that the tale belongs to the *Dane Hew* type. The illicit love affair does not agree with any tale in that group except "Der tote Trompeter": in that, too, the husband is a fisherman. Both the German folk-tale and the Italian novella reject blackmail as the motive of the murderers, and substitute the liaison. Possibly the conspiracy of husband and wife to defraud the monk lacked plausibility. The incident of the exchange of the body for a hog in a sack is lacking, but the novella shows no other similarity to Masuccio's novella. Angeloni's tale is a descendant of the fabliaux SM-DS (or their source), which has been modified somewhat by oral transmission, and is closely related to the German tale next to be discussed.

<sup>1</sup> G. Marchesi, *Per la storia della novella italiana nel secolo XVII* (Rome, 1897), 115.

"Der tote Trompeter,"<sup>1</sup> one of the best of the folk-tales, has been ingeniously adapted to its new home in Pomerania:

A trumpeter attached to a Swedish regiment quartered in Pomerania has criminal relations with a fisher's wife. He is killed, and the body is carried to a house (the monastery of the fabliaux) where the officers are banqueting. On coming out they knock it over and down a flight of steps. They bear it to the fisher's house because they recall the liaison. The fisher exchanges it for a hog in a sack which has been dropped by two frightened thieves. He takes the sack to its owner, the smith (instead of keeping it himself as in the fabliaux). The latter finds the corpse in place of his hog, ties it on an ass, and turns the ass loose. The beast runs between the ranks of the regiment—which is preparing to march away—and falls into a pit of slaked lime.

This agrees very closely with DS. Indeed, in the following minor details "Der tote Trompeter" agrees with DS against the fabliau's closest parallel, SM: the trumpeter (monk) is killed in a sudden fit of rage or jealousy; those who carry the corpse back to the fisher's house know of the liaison; there are two thieves, and the bearer of the corpse hears them talking.

These very same details prove also that the version in the *Histoire des Larrons*<sup>2</sup> is derived from DS. Here the tale is told of an advocate, Carilde. There is a curious turn at the end: the narrator says that the corpse alone fell into a pit which had been dug in the road, while the colt galloped on.

From the *Histoire des Larrons* the story passed into Kirkman's *History of Prince Erastus*.<sup>3</sup> The English *Erastus* is a derivative through the French of an Italian *remaniement* of the *Seven Sages*. Kirkman found in his source the tale of *Les trois bossus menestrels* and to this he added the story he found in the *Histoire des Larrons*.<sup>4</sup> He says (p. 220): "This story or example may be and hath been applied to the same purpose as the former of the Lady of Modena [i.e.,

<sup>1</sup> Pelz, *Blätter f. pomm. Volkskunde*, III (1894), 43.

<sup>2</sup> *Histoire générale des Larrons divisée en trois livres . . . par F. D. C. Lyonnois* (i.e., François de Calvi), 3 vols. in 1 (Rouen, 1639), I, chap. xxxvi, 239-51: "De l'auanture estrange ariüée en la ville de Rouen, en la personne d'un Aduocat."

<sup>3</sup> *Ed. cit.*, London, 1674, pp. 206-19, in particular pp. 213 ff. It is more conveniently accessible in a summary by Clouston, *Popular Tales and Fictions*, II, 352 ff.

<sup>4</sup> The combination is not found in French, e.g., *Histoire pitoyable du Prince Erastus . . . nouvellement traduite d'Italien en François*, Anvers, 1568, pp. 106-16; *Histoire pitoyable du Prince Erastus*, Paris, 1584, pp. 251-75; *Histoire du Prince Erastus*, Paris, 1709, pp. 290-318; nor in Italian, e.g., *Erasto doppo molti secoli ritornato al fine in luce . . .*, In Vineggia, Appresso di Agostino Bindoni, 1552, ff. 80b-89a; *I Compassionevoli Avvenimenti di Erasto . . .*, In Vinegia, 1554, pp. 221-45. In all of these, *Les trois bossus menestrels* alone forms the eighteenth chapter.

*Les trois bossus menestrels*]: to shew the cruelty and little credit that is to be given to women, and by this or the former they preserved the life of Prince Erastus for one day longer.” Kirkman has altered somewhat the strange adventure of the advocate Carilde. The conclusion has suffered from the necessity of fitting the new story into the *Seven Sages* as an example of the untrustworthiness of women. In Kirkman’s *Erastus* the woman betrays herself and her husband by an inadvertent exclamation when she unexpectedly sees the body of the advocate; a similar incident appears in the story as it is told in Timoneda’s *Patrañuelo* (see p. 245).

Longfellow also based his “Martin Franc and the Monk of Saint Anthony”<sup>1</sup> on DS, as is apparent for the following reasons: the increasing poverty of the merchant gives the monk, as in DS only, an opportunity to press his suit; the keys are taken, as in DS only, from the monk’s belt. Longfellow either explains away or avoids the psychological difficulties which Steppuhn met in analyzing DS. This process reminds us of the changes which the author of SoM introduced, changes which indeed occasionally agree with those of Longfellow. Of course, it is not at all out of the question to hold that Longfellow knew both SoM and DS. Andrae<sup>2</sup> is surely wrong in supposing that Longfellow heard this tale in the streets of Rouen. The poet himself says: “He [the narrator] said he found it in an ancient manuscript of the Middle Ages, in the archives of the public library.” What more is necessary?

Two prose retellings of DS offer no points of interest.<sup>3</sup>

A Flemish tale, “De Hoenderdief,”<sup>4</sup> is told of a thief’s body which is carried about by “slimme Jan.” The incidents and their order are familiar. The agreement of the tale with SoM in the matter of the thieves’ discovery of the exchange of the corpse for the hog before they have carried it to the inn may indicate descent from SoM, or, as is suggested by other details, may be due to the

<sup>1</sup> *Prose Works, Outremer*, I, 32–47.

<sup>2</sup> *Beiblatt zur Anglia*, X, 149.

<sup>3</sup> *Les Bibliothèques Françaises de [François Grudé de] la Croix du Maine et de [Antoine] du Verdier, sieur de Vauprivas; revue par M. Rigoley de Juvigny* (Paris, 1772–73), IV, 376–80; [Jean Pierre Nicéron et François Joachim du Tertre], *Bibliothèque amusante et instructive* (Paris, 1755), II, 14–15 (very much condensed). See also von der Hagen, *Gesamtabenteuer*, III, p. liii, note 1.

<sup>4</sup> De Cock, *Volkskunde*, XIII, 227, No. 18.

condensation and consequent speeding up of the narrative. The introduction of "slimme Jan" has hastened the tempo; the corpse need not be carried back each time to its real or supposed starting-place. The conclusion (the horse and corpse run wild in a pot-market) is clearly a later addition; this incident is especially popular in North German territory.

A few tales are either broken-down forms of this variety of the *Dane Hew* type or contain reminiscences of it. They have lost its most important characteristics, and are recognizable only by the sequence of incidents. An Ammerland tale<sup>1</sup> of the leaning of a Catholic priest's body against a window ledge and the finding of a hog which two frightened thieves have dropped is clearly defective; but we cannot reconstruct it. One step in that direction is apparent. The husband returns with the hog after he has thrown the corpse into a swamp, and tells his wife that he exchanged the corpse for it. Obviously the story has been diverted from its proper course, and the exchange should have taken place. In several tales of the *Dane Hew* type the intention of throwing the corpse into a milldam is announced just before the incident of the hog; but in them it is not executed.

"Sor Beppo"<sup>2</sup> is a clever, well-told folk-tale from Italy:

Fra Michelaccio, who bothered everybody by begging and paid no attention to warnings, visited a house which he had been forbidden to enter. The owner said nothing, but killed him with a club. Sor Beppo, the local grave-digger, agreed to dispose of the corpse for a consideration. He leaned it against the door of an inn. Summoned again, he hung it in a butcher-shop. The butcher gave him half a gelded hog for his help. Sor Beppo buried the corpse under a heap of dead bodies, where it remains.

Features characteristic of the *Dane Hew* type are the killing with a club, and the sequence of incidents, in which the inn corresponds to the monastery, and the butcher-shop to the incident of the hog in a sack. Other tales<sup>3</sup> explain how the butcher-shop came to have a place in the narrative. In the Middle Ages, when the fabliaux were told, an inn-keeper or householder might readily enough be supposed to

<sup>1</sup> Andrae, *Rom. Forsch.*, XVI, 348.

<sup>2</sup> Grisanti, *Usi, credenze, proverbi e racconti di Isnello*, I (1899), 213-16.

<sup>3</sup> Compare Pitre, *Fiabe, novelle . . . pop. sic.*, No. 165 and *Blätter f. pomm. Volkskunde*, IX, 24-26; both are cited above in note 2 on p. 229.

have a side of pork in his larder. Today the only person likely to have so much meat at one time is the butcher. For the sake of plausibility the substitution was a ready one. In the tales cited the situation is clearer than in "Sor Beppo," where the theft of the bacon has been altered into the butcher's gift of it. This tale, like several other Italian tales, omits the ride on horseback.

"Juvadi e lu cantalanotti,"<sup>1</sup> a Calabrian tale with a curious history, also lacks the ride on horseback. The order of the incidents and, in large measure, the motivation are new:

Juvadi's mother kills a cock for a holiday. While they are eating it, he hears a man going past, and runs out and kills him. He puts the corpse in a sack and starts off to throw it into a ravine. On the way thither he exchanges his sack for another containing a hog. He threatens to expose the unfortunate dupe, but compromises for fifty ducats and the corpse. Then he leans it against the door of a monastery, and there, for a promise of silence, receives a similar sum, a monk's cowl, and the corpse. He now places it in an out-house, where a guardian knocks it over. From this man he extorts a hundred ducats, and together they bury the corpse.

The last incident shows striking similarities to the analogous one in the French fabliaux and in Angeloni's novella. To these tales "Juvadi e lu cantalanotti" must be intimately related. The monastery, whose appearance here is fortuitous, is corroborative evidence, if any were needed. This tale is particularly interesting because of the antecedents of its hero. Wesselski traces him back to Turkish and Arabic sources. However, there is no reason for believing that this tale also came from the East; the resemblances to the French fabliaux are conclusive on that point. In spite of the Turkish pedigree of its hero this tale looks toward the West and not the East; it cannot be used to bridge the gap between the two.

We now pass to the second subdivision of the *Dane Hew* type: that in which the horse bearing the corpse pursues a mare on which rides a man who thinks he may be accused of murder. Our knowledge of this subdivision is based on three independent tales: "Dane

<sup>1</sup> Mango, *Archivio per lo studio delle trad. pop.*, X (1891), 51-52 = Wesselski, *Der Hodscha Nasreddin*, 1911, II, 122, No. 438.

For the introduction of this tale, compare another tale about Juvadi (Giufà) in Crane's *Italian Popular Tales*, pp. 294 ff. (cf. p. 380, note 16). See also Basset, *Revue des trad. pop.*, XVII, 92; Mouliéras, *Fourberies de Si Djeh'a*, No. 21 (see also Basset, *Tableau Comparatif*, p. 18, note 6, in the same book).

Hew," the first novella of Masuccio and its derivatives, and "Os dos irmãos."

On the whole, the English "Dane Hew"<sup>1</sup> agrees very closely with the fabliaux SM-DS except for the decisive incident of the mare. The story is as follows:

Dane Hew, a young and lusty monk of the abbey of Leicester, has long cherished designs on a tailor's wife. At last he makes his wishes known to her. She feigns to consent, and agrees to an assignation for the following morning. That evening, however, she tells all to her husband, and disclaims any intention of giving him a "cuckold's hood." On the morrow the tailor conceals himself in a chest. When the monk arrives and hands over the 20 nobles he had promised, she opens the chest to put them in it; out leaps the tailor, and kills the monk with a blow on the head. In the evening he bears the body to the abbey and lays it against the wall. There the abbot's man finds it. When Dane Hew refuses to answer the summons to come to the abbot and explain his absence, the servitor informs the abbot of the situation. The abbot calls for his staff, and finding Dane Hew still unresponsive, "gaue him such a rap, That he fel down at that clap." For forty shillings the abbot's man, who is aware of the monk's unfortunate attachment, bears the body back to the tailor's. The tailor, restless with dreams of the monk, rises in the night. He finds the corpse at his door, and "slays" it again with a pole-ax. It is too near morning to dispose of the body. On the following night the tailor bears it away with the intention of throwing it in a milldam. He terrifies two thieves into dropping a stolen hog in a sack, and leaves the corpse for the thieves. They discover the exchange in one of their homes, and take the corpse back to the miller from whom they had stolen the hog. The miller must wait until the next night. Then he mounts Dane Hew on the abbot's horse, and puts a long pole in the monk's hand. In the morning the horse pursues the abbot's mare when he rides out to supervise his workmen. They beat the corpse with clubs and staves. Then it is buried.

This story, told in rough couplets, is preserved on six leaves printed in black letter by John Allde. The date of its publication cannot be exactly determined. It is approximately given by the fact that the first mention of Allde as a printer is in 1554.<sup>2</sup> Clouston

<sup>1</sup> Hazlitt, *Remains of the Early Popular Poetry of England*, III, 130-46.

It is summarized in J. Aubrey, *Letters of Eminent Men* (London, 1813), I, 119-27 (in a letter from Mr. Wanley to Dr. Charlett on the meaning of the title *Dan*). The first lines are quoted in Nichols, *History of Leicestershire* (1795), I, 287.

Hazlitt's reference to Boisrobert, *Menagiana*, "The Three Ravens," is incorrect. In *Menagiana ou les bons mots et remarques critiques . . . de Monsieur Menage, recueillis par ses amis* (3d ed., Paris, 1715), III, 83-85, there is a tale of Boisrobert's about the three Racans, which has no interest for us.

<sup>2</sup> Clouston, *Popular Tales and Fictions*, II, 354.

believes that the rudeness of the language justifies him in dating the composition of the verse about a century earlier. In that case it would be roughly contemporaneous with Masuccio's *Novellino* (finished in 1476). "Dane Hew" has the same details in common with DS as "Der tote Trompeter" and the story in the *Histoire des Larrons*. There are certain concessions to good taste. The *pertruis* incident is modified and the *fumier* has disappeared. The most important changes are the introduction of the abbot's man and the distributing of the corpse's adventures over several nights. Both of these are certainly innovations. The discovery of the corpse takes place in the home of one of the thieves, not at an inn. The details of the concluding incident—the corpse beaten by the abbot's men—are probably unoriginal. No doubt the story should have ended with the corpse falling into a pit, as in Masuccio's novella and the fabliaux. Although Masuccio's version of the story later became very popular in England, it is curious to note that knowledge of "Dane Hew" is based solely on this black-letter print of John Allde's. There are no folk-tales derived from "Dane Hew," and the story has been known only to antiquarians. "Dane Hew" is a very important version because it throws new light on the relations of all the other tales in its group.

In the history of literature by far the most important variant of this subdivision is Masuccio's first novella;<sup>1</sup> more than a dozen tales in England, France, Italy, and Germany are derived directly or indirectly from it. Because this novella contains the incident of the pursuit of the mare it must be derived from the same source as the English "Dane Hew."<sup>2</sup> Two facts are characteristic of this Italian form: the husband wishes the monk to come in order to revenge himself (not as a blackmailing scheme); and the incident of the exchange of the corpse for a hog in a sack is omitted.

The oldest derivative of Masuccio's novella, in the *Comptes du monde adventureux*,<sup>3</sup> does not deserve especial notice. The popularity

<sup>1</sup> *Il Novellino di Masuccio Salernitano* (ed. Settembrini), I, 7-23. The *narrazione* occupies pp. 8-21. The *Novellino* first appeared in 1476.

<sup>2</sup> Steppuhn's arguments (pp. 44, 48) have no weight. They are concerned with similarities in motivation, and show only that two skilful narrators (Masuccio and the author of SoM) hit upon the same devices to make their stories plausible.

<sup>3</sup> No. 23 (ed. F. Frank [Paris, 1878], I, 125). On the *Comptes* see Toldo, *Contributo allo studio della novella francese*, p. 119, and the review by G. Paris, *Journal des savants*, 1895, pp. 350-55.



of the novella in England is particularly noteworthy. Here it was told as a humorous anecdote, versified, dramatized, and even taken into a county history. All of the English examples rest ultimately on Thomas Heywood's *History of Women*.<sup>1</sup> Some are derived directly,<sup>2</sup> and others through Blomefield's *History of Norfolk*.<sup>3</sup> Both are localized at Norwich, but only the latter is associated with Sir Thomas Erpingham. None of the various versifications has any singular merit; the least distinguished is the anonymous *Hue-and-Cry after the Priest*. Jodrell says in his preface (p. vi): "I have deviated in no important point from the letter, but have only embellished the narrative with poetical colours." The first two lines:

When guilt pursues the coward soul  
Vain is our flight from pole to pole

show what his "poetical colours" were. The cleverest versions—both burlesques—are those of Hardinge and Colman.

The two derivatives of Masuccio's novella which make the greatest pretensions to literary art are curiously different and yet intimately related. Batacchi's "Il morto a cavallo"<sup>4</sup> is a clever mock-heroic poem. The description of the awakening of the passion which leads to the monk's downfall will characterize the whole:

Non sì veloce giù dal ciel turbato,  
l'elettrica favilla al suol discende,  
nè la quercia che cento anni sprezzato  
avea 'l furor dell' aquilone incende,  
come lo stral del crudo Dio d'amore  
ratto piagò del padre Marco il cuore.

<sup>1</sup> London, 1624, pp. 253–56, "The Faire Lady of Norwich."

<sup>2</sup> T. Heywood, *The Captives*, I, ii; II, i; III, i, iii; IV, iii (in Bullen, *Old Plays* London, 1885), IV, 105–217; *Pasquil's Jests*, London, n.d. (ca. 1634; an enlarged edition), pp. 51–53, "A pretty tale of two friers"; Burton, *Unparalleled Varieties*, 4th ed., 1699, chap. vi, 167; *A Hue-and-Cry after the Priest; or the Convent*, London, 1749.

<sup>3</sup> F. Blomefield, *An Essay towards a Topographical History of the County of Norfolk* (London, 1807), VI, 415–18. The passage is reprinted from an earlier edition of Blomefield in *Gentleman's Magazine*, L (1780), 310–12.

It has been versified by R. P. Jodrell as *The Knight and Friars; an historick tale*, London, 1785, pp. 9–26 (pp. 27–31, a reprint of Blomefield); by George Colman the Younger in *Broad Grins*, London, 1802, pp. 40–106, "The Knight and the Friar"; by George Hardinge in *Miscellaneous Works*, London, 1818, II, 322–30, "The Knight and the Two Friars."

Gough (*British Topographer* [London, 1780], II, 27) cites "The fair lady of Norwich; or the pleasant history of two friars, John and Richard"; this may be still another reworking of the tale.

<sup>4</sup> D. L. Batacchi, *Novelle* (ed. F. Tribolati), I, 289 ff., No. 12.

"Der Todte zu Ross,"<sup>1</sup> which is derived from Batacchi, takes as its text "Wehe dem, den Amor zum Spielwerke seiner Launen wählt." Langbein seeks plausibility, not rhetorical effect, and writes in a spirit of drab reality. A Spanish version of Masuccio's novella is of some interest because it gives a new conclusion to the tale. This, the third *patraña* of Timoneda,<sup>2</sup> ends with an incident showing the untrustworthiness of women which is comparable to the conclusion of the tale in Kirkman's *Erastus*. In a quarrel between husband and wife, the real murderers, she betrays their guilt and they are condemned to death.<sup>3</sup>

There still remains for consideration the Portuguese "Os dos irmãos e a mulher morta."<sup>4</sup> This is a combination of the types *Tote Frau* and *Dane Hew*, and does some violence to both in the joining. After beginning essentially as the *Tote Frau* type does (with the exception that the body is kept over night in a church and starts its wanderings from there rather than from the grave), the corpse is exchanged for a hog in a sack, is carried to an inn, is leaned against a door, and is then mounted on an ass which pursues the priest on a mare until the priest dashes his brains out against the lintel of a door. This tale does not preserve the characteristic order of the incidents, and seems imperfect in other details. Why should the innocent priest—he is called to excommunicate the "devil" in the old woman—flee and brain himself? This tale cannot be derived from Masuccio's novella, because it contains the incident of the hog in the sack which Masuccio omitted. It cannot be derived from the three French *fabliaux*, because it contains the incident of the mare. It stands nearest to the English "*Dane Hew*," but it can be related to that only through a common source. Thus this sadly mutilated tale proves to be a useful confirmation of the existence of a common source of Masuccio's novella and "*Dane Hew, Munk of Leicester*."

The results of this study of the variants of the *Dane Hew* group may now be summed up. There are two subdivisions of this group:

<sup>1</sup> A. F. E. Langbein, *Sämmtliche Schriften* (Stuttgart, 1837), XXVII, 192-214, No. 8.

<sup>2</sup> Juan de Timoneda, *El Patrañuelo* (= *Biblioteca de Autores Españoles*, III), p. 134, No. 3. It is a derivative of Masuccio's novella; cf. Menéndez y Pelayo, *Orígenes de la Novela* (= *Nueva Biblioteca de Autores Españoles*, VII), II, p. III, note 3.

<sup>3</sup> For parallels, see von der Hagen, *Gesamtabenteuer*, III, p. xlv, note 1; Clouston, *Popular Tales and Fictions*, II, 357 ff.

<sup>4</sup> See note 1 on p. 225.

one in which the corpse is mounted on a horse which runs wild, and another in which the horse bearing the corpse pursues a mare. The variants of the former and older subdivision are due to oral and not literary transmission. The fabliau, "Du segretain ou du moine," stands aside from the line of direct descent; it is a *remaniement* by a clever hand. The subdivision is better represented by the two fabliaux, "Du segretain moine" and "Le dit dou soucretain." Closely allied to these two are several clever folk-tales which exhibit minor changes caused by oral transmission. The continued popularity of this type of tale among the folk is proved by the existence of tales which seem to be corrupt versions of this group. The state of affairs is quite different with the second subdivision; it has been spread broadcast by literary means. It is composed of three tales which imply the existence of a French tale differing from the two last-named fabliaux by the insertion of the pursuit of the mare. Steppuhn held that this development took place in the Iberian peninsula, for he knew it only in Masuccio's novella, which claims a Spanish source,<sup>1</sup> and in the Portuguese "Os dos irmãos." This opinion is less tenable since the addition of the English "Dane Hew" to the list of variants. These three can only be derived from a common source, which, from geographical considerations, was probably French. The English and Portuguese tales have given rise to no new forms; they are important only in determining the history of the story. The Italian novella has enjoyed a remarkable literary success, such as fell to the lot of no other tale about the wanderings of a corpse.

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<sup>1</sup> Amalfi, "Quellen und Parallelen zum Novellino des Salernitaners Masuccio," *Zt. d. V. J. V&.*, IX, 38, does not question this claim.